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UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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WEST INDIA COLONIES.

As very little information of an official character has been laid before Parliament during the last two years relative to the emancipated colonies, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society forwarded to their correspondents residing in them a series of questions embracing the most important branches of inquiry relative to their present condition and future prospects. The answers to these questions have been numerous from the principal colonies, Jamaica, British Guiana, Trinidad, and Antigua, and the general result we now propose to lay before our readers.

SUPPLY OF LABOUR.

JAMAICA.—In some parishes and districts it is said that the number of men employed in agricultural labour has decreased, they having greater opportunities of employing themselves in other occupations than females; but that women, who have no families, are employed in nearly the same ratio as formerly; those who retire, in whole or in part, from agricultural labour, are chiefly married, and devote themselves to domestic employments, and, as a result, there is in every respect an immense improvement in their families, as well as in their own appearance, manners, and condition. In other parishes and districts, it is alleged that there is a superabundance of labourers, so that, upon the average, the island is supplied with labour to an extent equal to its requirements, and the means the planters possess for securing it. The number of children occupied in agricultural labour has also decreased since the termination of slavery, but the number of those above fourteen years employed in agriculture is constantly increasing. A fair proportion of the children are in attendance at schools, and when such is not the case, they are occupied at home, assisting their parents in cultivating their grounds, and performing other useful offices. Indolence is neither encouraged nor practised to any extent among them. The result of European immigration has not been favourable: the number of deaths among the immigrants has been great; many have been removed, and but few remain. It is generally understood that there has been a considerable increase by births in the emancipated classes: it is computed to be from five to ten per cent. since 1838, with reason to look forward, as marriage becomes more general, to a progressive improvement in a still greater ratio. The census of 1844 was very imperfectly taken.

NOTE.—Lord ELGIN, in transmitting the particulars of the census, for 1844, of the Jamaica population, states that there is an apparent increase in the number of children under six years of age, as compared with the number returned in 1834, of 20,512. Unfortunately, the details sent home do not enable us to ascertain, with any degree of correctness, the whole increase, by natural means, which has taken place in the population since the complete abolition of slavery took place.

DEMERARA.—It is calculated that there are 70,000 persons engaged in agricultural pursuits in this colony. About two-thirds of the females able to engage in field work are employed. Many devote themselves to domestic duties, others give a portion to the house and the remainder to their provision grounds. In proportion as there is a cessation from field work, on the part of women, do they improve in social habits and personal appearance. The children now engaged in receiving instruction in the schools are generally under twelve years of age: so soon as they arrive at that age they are employed in the field, but in no cases are they brought up in indolence. The fact of their being able to earn as much as old people is a reason why they are introduced sooner than they ought to hard work. The number of immigrants introduced at the public expense, between the years 1835 and 1842, is stated to be 20,071; of these, 3,031 were from Africa, and 17,040 from other parts, including captured Africans from the Bahamas. Fever cut off one-half of the Portuguese, and a large mortality took place among the Coolie emigrants. Many of the Portuguese have returned home. There has been an increase in the population amongst the emancipated class. The census for 1844 will show this.

BERBICE.—The number of agricultural labourers has increased since slavery was abolished. The women, as a class, are more extensively employed in field labour than men. In many instances they engage in domestic duties exclusively, but this has been partial and gradual in its working. In proportion, however, as they are exempted from field labour do they improve in social character and general habits. The children generally attend school, until about fourteen years of age, when they enter on the duties of agricultural life: they are, therefore, brought up in habits of industry, and not in indolence. The introduction of immigrants has been extensive; but the removals, by death or otherwise, have been great. The increase in the emancipated class in this province has not been great, the deaths at an early age having been many, which, added to the deaths of adults, almost equals the number of births; but there are reasonable grounds for calculating upon a progressive aug-

mentation of the colony in future; but on this point the census of 1844 should be consulted.

NOTE.—The population of British Guiana, including Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, as taken by the census of 1844, was 98,133; of whom 49,787 were males, and 48,346 were females. In transmitting the particulars of this census to the Home Government, Governor Light remarks, "Upon these details the proprietary body ought to be satisfied that, but for emancipation, there was an annual decrease of their population, which would soon have thrown more estates out of cultivation than their fears have predicted would occur since that happy period. It is now clearly proved that the Creole population is on a steady increase; that the young and vigorous, in the age most necessary for increase, are in greater ratio than in any other portion of the population; and that in females, infants under five years of age, the excess over the same ratio of males is considerable; and the excess, both of male and female, under the same age, is greater than in the time of slavery."

TRINIDAD.—The present labouring population is between 30,000 and 40,000, five-sixths of whom are engaged in the cultivation of sugar, the remainder in that of coffee and cocoa. The women are principally engaged on the estates, but they do not, as formerly, exclusively devote themselves entirely to that kind of work. Some of the women are engaged in domestic duties, but the change has not led to that amount of improvement which could have been desired. The proportion of children employed is as great as formerly; the charge of indolence does not apply to them. The number of immigrants introduced has been from 7,000 to 8,000, 1,856 of whom were from Africa. The number of deaths among them has been considerable.

NOTE.—The population of Trinidad, according to the census of 1844, is stated to be 59,815, composed of 30,713 males, and 29,102 females. The Governor of the colony, Sir H. Macleod, gives it as his opinion, that the total amount of the population is 62,200.

ANTIGUA.—The number of emancipated negroes actually engaged in the cultivation of sugar is about 14,000, per census taken in 1844. Women are engaged to a considerable extent, but generally they are disinclined to be so employed; one half of them may be considered to have withdrawn from the cultivation of sugar. There is considerable improvement in their social character, personal cleanliness, and dress. The proportion of children employed is limited compared with the periods of slavery; those employed engage at more advanced ages, say thirteen or fourteen years. Up to the time of entering on agricultural labour they attend school, and occasionally assist their parents in the house and the garden. It is not true, therefore, that they are brought up in habits of indolence. Forty European labourers have been introduced, but with that exception, there has been no immigration into this colony. The conduct of the Europeans has been approved of.

NOTE.—The population of Antigua, according to the census of 1844, is stated to be 36,178, of whom 16,722 are males, and 19,456 females. The Governor, Sir Charles Fitzroy, states the increase by natural means to have been 3,000 within the four years.

WAGES.

JAMAICA.—In some parishes the rate of wages is 1s. 6d. per day, for first-class labourers; in others, 1s. 3d.; whilst in others, as *Trelawney* and *St. Ann's*, it is only 1s. per day. In the lowlands of *Clarendon* and *Vere*, the price of labour has averaged 1s. per day for the last twelve months. In *Hanover* and *St. James's*, a day's labour upon the roads is given for 1s. sterling. On estates, a first-class labouring man, by the day, will get 1s. 6d.; a second-class man, and able female, 1s. 3d.; third class, 9d. An attempt was made in the parish of *Trelawney*, in 1844, to reduce the wages to 9d. per day; the people, however, refused to take this sum, and, after three weeks' strike, were requested to turn out on their old wages, which they did. In some parts of the island, during the recent droughts, the price of labour fell to 9d. per day, and in some cases, even lower than that. Job work is preferred by the labourers and the planters, though not remunerated so highly as formerly. Cane hole digging, formerly 2s. 6d. for 100 holes, now 1s. 6d. for 100 holes. Cleaning and trashing canes, 6s. per acre; former price, 12s. per acre for cleaning only. This refers specially to *Hanover* and *St. James's*. The price of labour varies in different parishes in relation to tradesmen, from 1s. 9d. to 2s. 6d. per day, and in some instances they have been known to earn as much as 4s. per day. Task work for making a sugar hogshead, 2s.; rum puncheons, 3s. 6d. to 4s. 6d. each. In crop time, those employed about the works get an advance of wages of one-fifth, and sometimes one-fourth, say from 1s. 9d. to 2s. *per diem*. The day's labour in Jamaica varies in different districts; it may be ordinarily taken at nine hours: the labour performed beyond this time is rewarded by extra pay.



DEMERARA.—The average rate of wages varies from 1s. to 1s. 4½d. and 1s. 8d. per day, according to the ability of the workmen. Work is, however, principally done by the job. Tradespeople and artificers are paid at the rate of from ten to fifteen dollars per month. During crop, head boilermen are paid twelve to fifteen dollars per month; others in proportion to the time they give. Ordinarily seven and a half to nine hours is the average of a day's work; but during crop it extends to twelve and even more hours, according to circumstances.

BERBICE.—The wages vary in different parts of the county, and on different estates; but the average is, by the day, 1s. 4½d., and by the month eleven to fifteen dollars, according to ability. The average rate of wages for a carpenter is five bits (1s. 10d. sterling) *per diem*; on the estate, four bits, (1s. 4½d.) during the crop season, six bits (2s. 1d.) boilermen working extra hours, 2s. 1d. The ordinary day's work is seven and a half hours, but there is no particular limit in crop time. The price of job work is regulated between the employers and the labourers according to its nature.

TRINIDAD.—The wages vary from 1s. 3d. to 1s. 8d. per day. Task work is more general, but whether wages or task, about the same amount is received. Tradesmen on estates get sometimes a dollar per day; at others, twenty dollars a month. In the crop season, in consequence of long hours, the wages rise as high as from 2s. to 2s. 6d. per day. It is expected that a reduction, which is now partial, will soon become general in consequence of an overstock of labourers. The usual day's labour is nine hours.

ANTIGUA.—The average rate of wages paid to agricultural labourers is from 1s. to 1s. 6d. per day. Young persons, 9d. to 1s. Tradesmen obtain from 2s. to 3s. per day. Work is chiefly performed by the job. Agricultural societies have resolved upon scales for the regulation of labour and wages, but the planters do not always adhere to them. A larger amount is usually gained by job work, than by stated wages. Nine hours constitute a day's work.

NOTE.—The question of wages may be now considered as generally settled, the planters no longer complaining of their being exorbitant; but, on the contrary, admitting them to be reasonable. The complaint is, the want of "continuous labour," which means, the want of from sixteen to eighteen hours' labour during the season of crop, to complete the manufacturing process in the production of sugar. However, the largest and best conducted, and consequently the most productive and profitable, estates in the colonies, do not complain of a want of labour at any season of the year. Their proprietors state that they have the command of an ample supply of labour, and oftentimes more than they can usefully employ. They also give the labourers the greatest praise for steadiness and industry.

CAPITAL.

JAMAICA.—The amount of capital in this colony does not appear to be adequate to the payment of wages regularly; nevertheless there is some improvement in that respect. On some estates, especially those exposed to litigation, payments are extremely irregular, but in general wages are seldom in arrear more than one or two weeks together. On those estates where the wages are regularly paid, there is no want of labourers, and if the whole of the working population were to engage, there would be a superabundance. If there ever is any lack, it is when the higher class of labourers, who work their own provision grounds, find sufficient occupation connected with the ingathering of their own produce. The amount of interest paid by the planters for advances made by merchants and money lenders is usually 6 per cent., which is run up with charges for agency, &c., to 8 per cent. If advances are made by the Bank, 11 per cent. is paid. Non-residence and expensive management are great drawbacks on the profitable cultivation of estates.

DEMERARA.—Wages are generally paid with regularity, although some complaints have been lately made on this head. Where wages are regularly paid there is no lack of labourers, except in remote districts. The number of estates existing, as compared with slavery, is nearly equal; many of them are, however, burdened with mortgages: their prosperity depends very much on their management. The estates of residents yield a better return than those of non-residents. The present mode of cultivation is susceptible of great improvement from the extensive introduction of the plough and other implements of agriculture, which have been much neglected; but an agricultural society has lately been formed in the colony, which it is hoped will be the means of effecting an improvement. The want of capital is much felt for carrying on cultivation with vigour.

BERBICE.—The amount of capital is not equal to the payment of wages punctually; but where wages and good treatment are combined, an adequate amount of labourers can be obtained. The rate at which money is borrowed is 6 per cent., which is swelled by charges to 8 or 9 per cent. The want of capital, joined with improper management, has tended to decrease the exports.

TRINIDAD.—The amount of capital in the colony does not appear to be equal to the payment of wages, they being frequently months in arrear; indeed the wages have continually to be taken out in goods. Where labourers are punctually paid, there is no want of hands. The amount of interest paid for advances of money varies from 6 to 10 per cent., but the planter has frequently to pay indirectly more than 10 per cent. The diminution of exports has arisen rather from a want of capital than a want of labourers.

ANTIGUA.—There appears to be sufficient capital in the colony for the regular payment of wages.

NOTE.—Subsequently to the abolition of slavery, not a few speculators, taking advantage of the necessities of resident, and of the ignorance of non-resident, proprietors, have purchased their estates chiefly on credit. These are the parties who are loudest in their complaints of the want of labour, when, in point of fact, what they most want is money to secure it. Things are, however, working their own cure, and the time is not distant when the *bond fide* holders of property in the West Indies must either become residents, or adopt a system of rental, or make up their minds to sell their estates at the market price. The system of having overseers to look after the headmen, and managers to look after the overseers, and attorneys to look after the managers, and no one to look after them, is a system too expensive to be endured under the free system. Whose estates soever are unprofitable, those of the great planting attorneys are not. They manage to get good crops off their properties; and are ever on the watch to purchase the properties of others when they are forced into the market.

IMMIGRATION MANIA IN SAINT LUCIA.

An attempt is in progress to introduce the immigration mania into the small island of Saint Lucia. On the 31st of May last there was presented to the Legislative Council of that island a memorial from the following London houses:—Joseph Marryatt and Sons; Cavan, Brothers, and Co.; Ellice, Kinnear, and Co.; Finlay, Hodgson, and Co.; Chalmers, Guthrie, and Co.; Henckell du Buisson and Co.; and Gillespies, Moffatt, and Co. The memorial was in the usual West Indian style, affirming the want of labour and the necessity of immigration; and recommending the raising of an immigration loan, under the assumed sanction of the Government. This document is dated, "London, 31st August, 1844;" but wherefore not presented at an earlier period does not appear. At the same time there were presented to the Council two other memorials from parties in the island, one in favour of the scheme, and one against it. After the reading of these documents, a member of the council, Mr. Goodman, brought forward a proposition, ready cut and dried, for the introduction of 1000 immigrants, annually, and the imposition of taxes on sugar and other produce, to meet the charges of the loan. The scheme, however, met with vigorous, and to a certain extent successful opponents, in Messrs. Muter and Paret. The discussion which took place, as reported in the *Independent Press*, was long and desultory; but it is so instructive that we must try to give the substance of it in a small space.

On a motion, (substituted for Mr. Goodman's,) "that it is the opinion of this Board that this colony is labouring under great depression from the want of labourers to carry on the cultivation of estates,"

Mr. Muter said, it was not the want of labourers that caused depression, but want of capital to render the machinery on the estates efficient, and directed attention to the comparison between this island and Saint Vincent, as to the population and exportable produce. If it was not invidious he could cite certain estates where the want of machinery rendered them unproductive—there was the Vide Bou-teille estate, a fine property in the neighbourhood of the town, with a large extent of cane cultivation, but there was only a water-mill, and they could not take off half the crop; and then a little further on was the Choc estate, belonging to the same gentleman, which was similarly situated; it was nothing but want of machinery that prevented these estates extending their cultivation, and more than doubling the amount of produce—and it was almost the same thing in every part of the island. He had raised from complete abandonment two estates, one of which in Gros-islet, and the other to windward, and which were now giving large returns, solely from having efficient machinery.

Mr. Mallet Paret said, he saw no advantage to be derived from bringing immigrants to so small a colony; he would not consent to make St. Lucia the first to try an experiment which might be beneficial for Demerara, Trinidad, and Jamaica, but which must be useless here, unless we could prevent the small settlements of provision-growers: to bring Africans and Coolies would only be adding to the number of that class of the people, and instead of working on the sugar estates, they would become growers of manioc.

Mr. Muter was prepared to show that the principle of the government plan was not at all adapted to this colony;—he had explained to many gentlemen who had signed the memorial for immigration, what the government plan was, and they were decidedly of opinion that it was not applicable to this colony, and had they previously known the nature of it, they would not have signed the memorial.

Mr. Mallet Paret begged leave to move as an amendment, that it is not the opinion of the board that the present depression of the colony was to be remedied by immigration at the public expense.

Mr. Muter seconded Mr. Mallet Paret's amendment.

The Collector of Customs asked, if Mr. Muter could give any reason why the labouring population on the estates was so small in comparison with other islands.

Mr. Muter said, it was easily accounted for by a great majority of planters endeavouring to give a very inadequate rate of wages, and a great many of the labouring population were employed in planting canes in halves, which withdrew a large number from estate's work, and though it gave a greater revenue to the labourer, it was doing much injury to the colony. There was a large number employed on small properties of their own, where they had hand-mills, and a large quantity of labour was lost from want of good machinery.

The Collector of Customs inquired, if the honourable member thought his railroad induced a large number of labourers to work at Roseau.

Mr. Muter said he had no doubt it did. It facilitated their work. The Attorney-General wished to know, if machinery was applicable to planting the canes.

Mr. Muter said it was; the plough would be a very great saving of labour in planting and weeding the canes; but for that they wanted good artificers. In this island during the last three years they had nearly doubled their exportable produce, and if they had more capital, they would more than double that quantity. At Roseau there had been many abuses allowed by the former manager, Mr. Clacherty, which he had been endeavouring to correct, and the consequence had been, that there had been hardly any labourers at work for some time past, but they were now again returning.

Mr. Mallet Paret's amendment was put, and lost by a majority of 5 to 3. The original motion was then carried by 6 to 1.

Colonel Torrens said, he had received a very satisfactory return of the produce of last year, which exceeded that of many years during slavery in this island.

Mr. Muter observed that it was most satisfactory, and this favourable result had been arrived at without the expense of immigration.

Mr. Goodman said, he as well as others had procured immigrants. There was one of his estates which was worked by a gang of 60 immigrant labourers, the crop of which had fallen to less than 60 hogsheads, and by means of these immigrants he had nearly doubled that quantity. But he had imported upwards of a hundred entirely at his own expense, and within a twelvemonth afterwards they were taken away by his neighbours; and that was one reason which called for immigration under the superintendence of Government.

Mr. Goodman's original motion was then read.

Mr. Muter said, I must conclude that what is meant by the motion, is immigration into this colony on the principles authorized by her Majesty's Government, and with all the conditions attached to those principles. Now what are those principles, and what are those conditions? The first principle, that each colony authorized to import labourers from Africa and the East Indies must attend to and act upon is—to provide the sum of 25*l*. sterling for each labourer or immigrant; viz., 15*l*. sterling for the expense of bringing him to the colony, and 10*l*. for the expense of taking him back to his native country, at the expiration of five years. If the labourer remains in the colony and works his term of five years, he can demand to be sent back again to Africa or the East Indies at the expense of the colony. But the next principle is, that the moment the immigrant puts his foot in this island, he is quite free to leave it again the same day, or the next day, or at any future period, without serving out the five years or any part of it—only if he does not remain all the five years, he forfeits his claim on the colony to be carried back to his native place at the expense of the colony. He is also quite free to labour in the town or in the country, and if he has the means of supporting himself without working, he cannot be compelled to work, for he is as free as every one else in the colony. The present rate of wages now in the colony on an average, is one shilling sterling per day for each able-bodied labourer. Now it is quite evident, that immigrants, "Africans or East Indians," cannot be brought to the colony to cost less—he felt persuaded they will cost the colony and the planters a great deal more. First, with respect to the colony. The 25*l*. sterling per head, as he had mentioned, is not the only expense the colony must be put to. There is the expense of an immigration agent—of a receiving-house at Castries—of food and clothing whilst they remain at Castries, waiting the employer to engage them and to take them into his employment. Then if they arrive sick, they must be taken care of. The cost of medical attention, medical advice, food and medicines, &c. These are the expenses to be incurred in the first stage of the transaction. The next stage is the expense to be incurred by the planter or proprietor receiving them. He must prepare suitable houses to receive and lodge them on his plantation; and he had been informed by those who had formerly been accustomed to see new negroes imported into this colony, that it requires a year or two to acclimate them before they can be of any real use on a plantation. They must be taught everything, even to speak the language of the country. The honourable member said he had conversed with some of the gentlemen who had signed the petition or memorial, praying His Excellency to procure a loan for encouraging immigration, and when he explained to them the foregoing particulars, they at once declared that it was not what they understood, and that immigration on such principles and under such conditions would be of no benefit to this colony; and that if they had known such was the case, they would not have signed the memorial. The Assembly of Jamaica had decided against it, and Jamaica is in many respects circumstanced like this colony, though on an extended scale, and that ought to be a sufficient guide and warning for them. A population in St. Vincent of 27,248, exported last year 16,732,902 lbs. sugar, while a population in St. Lucia of 20,694 exported the same year only 6,469,012 lbs. sugar. He would ask how is this? and reply that the labour of the St. Lucia population is misapplied for want of efficient machinery. Instead of labourers being employed beneficially for themselves and the colony, their labour is wasted, and employed in hand-mills to grind the canes, so that their physical force is employed to do that which a horse or a mule should be employed to do. It was therefore his opinion, that it was not labourers that are wanted here to increase the crops, so much as capital to procure efficient and improved machinery and agricultural implements. He moved an amendment, "That it is not the opinion of this board that it is the interest of this colony to raise a fund for the introduction of immigrants into the colony."

Mr. Mallet Paret said, in seconding the amendment, it would record his opinion against the original motion, but whether it was passed or not, it could never be carried into effect.

The amendment was lost, 7 to 2.

The original motion was then put; but the impression made by Mr. Muter's observations was so strong that it had no chance of being carried. The Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, and the Collector of Customs, were all of them so much embarrassed that they would not vote at all; and Mr. Cotter threatened to vote in the negative; so that the man was glad to get permission to withdraw his motion. And here, for the present—we would hope for ever, the matter rests.

We think our readers will agree with us now, that, when we said this debate was instructive, we did not speak unadvisedly. It is clear that, on the part of the Council at large, the whole affair is nothing more than a play of puppets, the wires being pulled by the great firms in London, who, either as proprietors or as mortgagees, have, or think they have, the control of everything. The resident planters of St. Lucia would never have stirred the subject of immigration. And when at last they did so, they did it under gross ignorance. They thought the Government was about to lend money on the security of property, and that the loans might be spent on the improvement of their estates! When they came to understand the nature and operation of an immigration loan, they recoiled from it as unnecessary and ruinous. Even Mr. Goodman, who, as having undertaken to bring the matter forward, ought to have made himself acquainted with it, was so uninformed as to assert that the immigrants would be bound for five years! Really the colony has had a happy escape; and we tender our sincere congratulations. Much praise is due to those members of the Council who offered to the insidious proposition so effective an opposition; and more particularly to Mr. Muter, who is, we believe, the largest proprietor in the island, whose enlightened views and perfect knowledge of the subject were of invaluable use.

CAPTAIN JONATHAN WALKER.

WE have already stated that this truly excellent man has been liberated from prison. He is now in the Free States exhibiting his branded hand, to him a stigma, not of disgrace, but of honour. The expense incurred in securing his liberation from prison has amounted to 1,400 dollars, which has been cheerfully contributed by the friends of the anti-slavery cause.

The following letter from Captain Walker will be read with deep interest. It is a reply to the letter and resolutions of sympathy which were transmitted to him whilst imprisoned at Pensacola, in Florida.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, LONDON.

New York City, July 12th, 1845.

Very kind and highly esteemed Friends,—I arrived this day in this city, and embrace the earliest convenient opportunity to acknowledge the reception of the kind letter of your worthy secretary, John Scoble, and the accompanying resolution adopted at your meeting in London, on the 4th of October, 1844, expressive of your opinion of, and feelings toward, Charles T. Torrey and myself. The letter was forwarded through the kindness of a friend in New York, and reached me just two months after its date. But it is impossible for me to express upon paper the feelings which the reception of the letter and resolution excited.

I am an American-born citizen, and have lived forty-five years under this republican form of government, but I am ashamed to acknowledge that, while enjoying the greatest social and religious privileges of any nation upon the earth, boasting of our liberal and free institutions, of the inherent right of all men to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," of our arts and science, civilization, and the dispensation of the gospel; yet we cherish in our midst the most heinous, unjust, oppressive, and God-provoking system that ever cursed the dwellers of earth, nourishing jealousy and discord through the land, poisoning the life-streams of our Union, corroding the vitals of this young and growing nation, and destroying the mental and moral faculties of one portion of its inhabitants, to corrupt and debase the other; and if any one is found among her sons whose humane feelings prompt him to extend an act of sympathy towards his deeply-injured fellow-subjects, who have nowhere to look with any earthly hope for the mitigation of their wretchedness but in the hearts of the few, and are denied the privilege of seeking redress from the laws and counsels of their country—such an one is sought out and hunted like a beast of prey, and dealt with as a traitor to his country, and as a slayer of his fellow-men; and this, notwithstanding every precaution has been used to prevent any act of violence on the part of the truly wronged, and none but pacific means are countenanced to obtain relief.

While my mind has been filled with such considerations, and while undergoing the most degrading punishments that human invention has produced from the hands of my own countrymen, I receive from a high and honourable source, in a foreign and monarchical country, the warm and cordial sympathies, and favourable consideration and approbation of the cause for which I suffer, and detestation of the course pursued against me from entire strangers, whom I never saw, and probably never shall see this side of another world.

I heartily respond, gentlemen, to the declaration in the last clause of the resolution which you adopted, that "the laws under which

we were to be arraigned are utterly disgraceful to a civilized community, and in the highest degree repugnant to the spirit and precepts of the gospel."

You are probably aware, ere this, of the result of my first trial in November last, under four indictments. Since that time, I have been detained in prison until the 16th of June, when, after having undergone a second trial on the 10th of May, under three indictments, I was released by the liberality of friends, in paying the fines and costs of prosecution which were charged against me. With the exception of two and a half months, I was kept in chains during the whole of my imprisonment.

Let me assure you again, my dear friends, of my gratitude for your kind and humane consideration. It is a source of deep regret to me that the original letter and resolution were taken from me while in prison by the authorities, but not, however, until I had secured a copy of each, which I hold invaluable. They were laid before the Legislative Council of Florida, and a report made thereon, a copy of which I inclose.

Trusting that all needful blessings from our Divine Lord may attend you individually and collectively in all coming time, and enable you to accomplish much in the righteous cause you have espoused for the amelioration of the condition of the deeply injured and oppressed children of man,

I remain, respectfully, your grateful Friend,
JONATHAN WALKER.

POPULATION OF THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.

GENERAL ABSTRACT OF THE RECENT CENSUS.

[From the Parliamentary Papers.]

Colony.	Date of Census.	Males.	Females.	Total Census, 1844.	Number of Slaves according to the Compensations Returns, 1834.
1. Jamaica	3 June 1844	181,633	195,800	377,433	311,070
2. Honduras	—	—	—	10,000	1,901
3. Bahamas	1841	12,623	12,621	25,292	10,086
4. Barbados	3 June 1844	56,004	66,194	122,198	83,150
5. Grenada	"	13,732	15,191	28,923	23,638
6. St. Vincent	"	12,600	14,648	27,248	22,266
7. St. Lucia	"	9,871	11,130	21,001	13,291
8. Tobago	"	6,152	7,056	13,208	11,589
9. Antigua	15 March 1844	16,722	19,456	36,178	29,121
10. Montserrat	3 June 1844	3,336	4,029	7,365	6,401
11. Barbuda	"	223	286	509	—
12. Dominica	"	10,788	11,681	22,469	14,175
13. St. Christopher	"	10,523	12,654	23,177	19,780
14. Nevis	"	4,418	5,153	9,571	8,815
15. Virgin Islands	"	3,130	3,559	6,689	5,135
16. Trinidad	3 June 1844	30,713	29,102	59,815	20,657
17. British Guiana	10 Oct. 1841	49,787	48,346	98,133	82,824
Total				889,209	663,899

FRENCH CONSULAR AGENTS.

MR. RICHARDSON having forwarded to us a copy of a letter which he has addressed to M. Guizot, we lay it before our readers without comment.

"Gerba, May 6th, 1845.

"SIR,—I was surprised on hearing that the French consular agent Mustapha Ben Ibrahim, Rais of the Isle of Gerba, was the owner of some four or six slaves; but my surprise was changed into astonishment when I further heard that this French functionary had, in January, 1844, sent a forged document to the British Consul-General of Tunis, and signed by two public notaries, purporting to have liberated some two or three years previously all his slaves, mentioning their names and otherwise distinguishing them, on the alleged occasion of the celebration of the circumcision of his grandson, and this in order to escape direct dismissal from his post as British agent at this island, which he had been for fourteen years.

"In proof of this document being false or forged, I have the testimony of all the respectable Europeans on the spot, as well as the slaves themselves, one of whom came to me yesterday imploring my assistance, and declaring that he was still a slave, notwithstanding his name had been mentioned in the document sent to Tunis, pretending to have given him his freedom.

"Mustapha Ben Ibrahim Rais is descended from an Algerine family, and has an Algerine or French passport, and, besides being consular agent for France, is the agent of all the other European powers, except England, Sardinia, and Austria. He resigned the post of British agent at the moment of the discovery of the forgery of the document.

"Sir, believing that if the *entente cordiale* is to have any meaning in the international affairs of France and England, and sup-

posing that the aforesaid document of the moor Mustapha must be still in the possession of the British Consul-General of Tunis, the French and English Governments cannot better fulfil their public professions before mankind than by exerting their joint influence in this case, to punish the most deliberate fraud, and to shield humanity from the accursed scourge of slavery.

"Begging you, Sir, to excuse this great liberty of pressing myself on your attention, and occupying your most valuable time, I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient and most humble servant,
(Signed) "JAMES RICHARDSON."

To M. Guizot,
&c., &c.

NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-venders throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, AUGUST 20, 1845.

THE West India Mail has arrived, and from a cursory glance at the colonial papers which it has brought we can discover no articles of great importance for home readers. It is gratifying, however, to perceive that amidst the loud outcries which have been made of want of labour, Jamaica will ship this year from 12,000 to 15,000 hogsheads of sugar more than it did in 1844, with the additional prospect in 1846 of a still further increase. Antigua is apparently alive to agricultural improvements. The plough and horse-hoe have been tried with every prospect of success. Other colonies are following the example, though not with equal energy. The news from Hayti is distressing. It appears that the Spanish and French portions of the island are again in conflict, and that great cruelties have been practised by the former, which have been followed by reprisals on the part of the latter. The cause of the outbreak is not given.

THE Texan Congress has met, and consummated by a legislative act, with only a single dissentient voice, the giant iniquity of modern times, the annexation of the new republic to the American union. The 4th of July, a day regarded by Americans as sacred to liberty, was selected by the Texans for the commission of this act of national treachery and suicide. The true American citizens, the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers, the men of high resolve and Christian virtue, will bear this in mind; and will endeavour to wipe out the deep stain which southern slave-masters and Texan robbers have cast on the fame of their country. For our parts, aside from its political bearings and results, we are inclined to believe that it will defeat the object for which it was intended, and weaken instead of strengthen the institution of slavery.

Now that the policy of the Southern or slave States has become apparent, the Northern and Western free States will awake to a deep sense of their political degradation; and we predict that the great question, ere long, will be, not which of the great political parties existing shall possess the legislative and governmental power, but which section of the United States, the free or the slave, shall rule the mighty destinies of that great empire.

Henceforth the free, whether from Europe or from the Northern States, will emigrate to the free States of the West, for it is in them alone that their industry, skill, and enterprise will find their appropriate reward. Free-men instinctively shun the regions of slavery. Hence, while Kentucky, an old state, though possessing a noble domain, is languishing in poverty; Ohio, a new state, is rapidly filling up with settlers, and developing her resources in a ratio utterly unknown to the wealthiest and most populous of the Slave States. The removals to Texas will be from the Southern States. Planters, with their gangs of unhappy slaves, will resort thither, because its soil presents inducements for cotton cultivation, which can no longer be found in the great majority of the Slave States. But in proportion as Texas becomes populated, the older Slave States will be abandoned, and the free portions of the United States will take it for their inheritance, and change its whole aspect, as if by magic. Can any one doubt that Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky will soon merge into free States? They are ripe for it now; and only wait the appearance of some bold and decided men to lead them on to the adoption of the necessary measures to secure this great object and its attendant blessings.

The annexation of Texas will give double energy to the movements of abolitionists in the United States, and multiply their numbers and resources tenfold; and they are not the men to abandon their ground, because the enemy appears to have gained a momentary advantage.

In the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, of the 23rd ult., we called attention to a Report of a Committee of the Legislative Assembly of

Mauritius on Coolie emigration, which clearly demonstrated the ruinous consequences of the measure, and the remedies proposed in order to render it more successful in future. The Minute of the Governor, Sir William Gomm, which we then referred to, takes up the consideration of the remedies, the first of which is lengthening the term of engagements from one to five, or at least three years. No doubt it would be more advantageous to the Proprietors to have the Indian labourers secured to them under indentures of five years; but inasmuch as it would be an act of the grossest injustice to the labourers already in the Colony, and would remove the safeguards which the present contract law raises against oppression, the Governor is opposed to the application of the first remedy. In reference to the second, the necessity of importing so large a number of Coolies as should beget competition for employment, his Excellency conceives that a largely increased introduction of labourers upon the plan submitted by the Committee, would be unprofitable to the introducers themselves, and might entail the utmost misery upon a large body of immigrants who could obtain no employment, as well as subject the Colony to very serious responsibility and expense. For these reasons he is opposed to the second remedy. With respect to the third, the alleged want of a more stringent vagrant law, the Governor thinks that it is misemployment rather than vagrancy, which characterizes the Indian labourers, and cautions the Committee against "the appearance of a desire" to convert police regulations "into an engine of extensive coercion, and an ever-active stimulus to the exertions of free labour;" and, he wisely adds, "let us take good heed, lest, in whatever we do in this matter, we lay ourselves open to a charge, even by implication, from our detractors, and more than our detractors, of inviting the Indian Government to send its people into captivity amongst us." Now, with the fear of being considered detractors before our eyes, we venture to assert that this is just what the Mauritius Planters want. Their idea of freedom is long contracts and stringent police regulations to enforce them; they want, in short, to make "captives" of the Coolies; but Sir William Gomm very properly says he can be no party to a scheme of this kind. So much for remedy the third.

But were the Governor of Mauritius ever so desirous of doing the Planters a favour, he is utterly precluded by want of funds. The surplus fund in the Colonial chest, to upwards of 284,000*l.* sterling, intended to have been applied to important public works, has been expended on immigration, and must be restored. Besides which, as the Committee itself remarks, "*the future must be provided for.*" The Colony is already burthened with taxes which it is not desirable to increase; hence, any additional immigration beyond that already contemplated, is entirely out of the question.

From these instructive documents the West Indians may learn a useful lesson, namely, to be content with their present number of labourers, and to husband their resources instead of squandering them on the importation of Coolies.

WE learn from the *Glasgow Argus*, that the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association, and the Emancipation Society of that city, held their anniversary meetings on Friday, August 1st, and that they were well and respectably attended; the latter body by at least 2,500 persons. It would have afforded us great pleasure to have transcribed the spirited proceedings of our fellow-labourers in the cause of suffering humanity; but our limits interpose an insuperable difficulty. We hope, however, to find room in our next number for the memorial agreed to be transmitted to the United States, on behalf of our Scottish friends. Dr. Willis, of the Free Church, presided over both meetings, held at different periods of the day, and did his duty manfully towards his brethren. We honour him for his faithfulness, and trust his example will be generally followed. We can merely add that the "Scottish Congregational Magazine" for this month contains the admirable and truly Christian address on slavery of the ministers and members of the Scottish Congregational Churches, passed at the last general meeting of the body. We trust it will have an extensive circulation in the United States, and produce the best results.

FROM a Parliamentary Paper we have inserted to-day a general Abstract of the late Census of the population of the British West Indies. The document from which we have taken it, although far from communicating all the information which could have been desired, contains, nevertheless, much interesting matter, of which we shall have something more to say hereafter.

WE direct the attention of our readers to the first article in this day's paper. It is an abstract of the information respecting the state of the British West Indies, received by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in reply to a set of queries which they issued some time since. It will repay perusal.

WE have the pleasure of introducing to the notice of our readers, the Sixth Annual Report of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which has just issued from the press. On the present occasion the Report is not accompanied with the matter which has heretofore constituted the Appendix, but merely with an account of the Annual Meeting at the Hall of Commerce, and a list of subscribers. It is in consequence of smaller bulk, and ready at a much earlier period than would otherwise have been possible. In its present form it is adapted for an extensive circulation, which, we trust, will be given to it by all the friends of the Society. The matter usually given in the Appendix will not be withheld from the public, but will be hereafter issued in a separate form.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MONDAY, July 24.

BRAZILIAN SLAVE-TRADE.

On the order of the day for going into committee on the Slave-trade (Brazil) Bill,

Mr. M. GIBSON said, that viewing this bill as a penal act against a friendly power, he had felt it his duty to ask the right hon. gentleman opposite (Sir R. Peel) for such information as would enable the house to judge whether or not they would be justified in giving it their assent. The correspondence which had passed between her Majesty's Government and the Brazilian Government had been laid on the table of the house, and, having given it a very attentive perusal, he must say it appeared to him that there yet remained very important matters for examination before they would be in a condition to judge whether or not it would be proper for them to share the responsibility of commencing hostilities against the Brazilian empire. (Hear, hear.) What was the bill which they had before them? Hon. gentlemen might imagine that it was a measure quite in accordance with others which had been passed, requiring the Government to execute conventions with foreign powers in reference to the slave-trade. But although in its title it resembled those measures, they would find, that by this bill Parliament was called upon to give her Majesty's Government power to exercise acts of hostility towards subjects of Brazil which might lead to retaliation and resentment, and bring about most serious difficulties as regarded the commerce of the two countries. This bill would entitle her Majesty's Government to stop and seize all vessels which were suspected of being engaged in the slave-trade, and to grant letters of marque to privateers for the same purpose. It would have the effect of enabling any persons, however incompetent, to form a judgment on such proceedings, to stop any vessel on the high seas, on suspicion of its being engaged in the slave-trade, and would thus lead to the detention of papers, and to a variety of circumstances which would bring us into serious difficulties with respect to foreign powers. Now, the real state of things was this:—They had a convention with the Brazilian empire, a portion of which had expired. In that portion of the convention which had expired there were provisions, giving to England and Brazil the mutual right of search and visit, and there was also a provision establishing a mixed commission court for the purpose of adjudicating upon the cases of vessels which might be seized under the treaty. But then it was said that, beyond that part of the treaty which had expired, there existed a solemn obligation on the part of the Brazilian Government to abolish the slave-trade, an obligation which was to be found in the first clause of the treaty of 1826, whereby the Brazilian Government declared that the carrying on of the slave-trade by any of its subjects should be treated as piracy. The question here arose whether they would be justified in giving her Majesty's Government power to enforce the obligations of that clause? It was said that the time had come when, if the Brazilians would not themselves abolish the slave-trade they should abolish it for them. This was an important question, as affecting the law of nations; and for his own part, he did not feel himself competent to give an opinion upon it. He had, however, the highest authority for stating that the granting of such powers was not consistent with the custom in similar cases, namely, the opinion of the Duke of Wellington and the Lord Chancellor, expressed in the form of a protest, when a similar bill had been introduced by the noble lord the member for Tiverton (Lord Palmerston). The hon. member then read the protest, which expressed dissent from the bill, because it authorised an officer of the Crown to order the adoption of measures of hostility not founded on any public declaration of the Sovereign or message to the house in the usual form, and because the powers proposed to be given were not necessary to obtain from Portugal the due execution of the treaty, and were likely to lead to permanent if not interminable hostilities. There was a second protest to the same effect. But it might be said, these protests applied to principles not involved in this bill. He could only say that this bill was exactly similar to the act respecting the treaty with Portugal. When this country made the slave-trade piracy, there was an express proviso in the act of Parliament to the effect that British subjects and British ships, if captured in following the slave-trade, should be tried by British tribunals; and the act gave no power whatever to any foreign tribunal to adjudicate on British subjects. That seemed to him to show, that it was thought by the Legislature when that law passed, that every nation ought to try its own subjects only. He admitted that there was a feeling in every breast that when a foreign country entered into a treaty with us, if there were manifested a disposition on the part of the foreign state to elude the performance of the provisions of the treaty, we had a right to take some mode to enforce their obligations; but in the case of Brazil we ought to consider that the executive government could no more do what they pleased with reference to slavery or the slave-trade than the right hon. gentleman could do what he pleased with reference to the corn laws or any other subject which a great party in this country were banded together to support. The Brazilians felt it to be humiliating that their independence should be interfered with, or that they should be dictated to by England; the passions, the prejudices, the long-continued habits of that people, were against the Government of England when they attempted anything of the sort, and therefore, it was right that the Government should consider what the executive Government could do, and how far they were at liberty to go in putting down the slave-trade, before they called upon the Legislature to adopt a measure of hostility to the Brazilians. The present policy of the right hon. baronet he (Mr. M. Gibson) could not think was likely to bring about the destruction of the slave-trade, unless the force of public opinion abroad was brought to bear upon it. The fact was, the Brazilians had done as much as other nations similarly situated had done to put down the slave-trade. But then all at once it became apparent, as might be seen in these papers, that the Brazilian Government had come to a determination not to put down the trade. In August, 1841, the Brazilian Government submitted to her Majesty's Government a distinct proposition to put down the slave-trade; they submitted plans and specific proposals for that purpose; and her Majesty's Government were negotiating with them, when in 1842 the Brazilian Minister here

peremptorily refused to pursue those negotiations. But what period was that? Why, the exact period when her Majesty's Government first put forward the doctrine of slave-grown sugar, and their determination to exclude sugar of that description, and when they sent Mr. Ellis as minister to Brazil, with instructions which had never yet been made public. Now, that negotiation being concluded, no public interest could be injured by the production of those instructions; and before the right hon. baronet asked the house to assent to this extreme measure he was bound to show the house, by the production of all the papers relating to the subject, that his own policy had not been the cause of the present situation of affairs with respect to Brazil. If this bill were adopted, it would amount to nothing short of a declaration of war on the part of Great Britain against Brazil. The house must have Mr. Ellis's instructions and the whole case before them, before, in his (Mr. M. Gibson's) opinion, they would be in a condition to adopt this measure. Lord Aberdeen himself had acknowledged, as appeared from these papers, that the measure was an extreme measure, and had said that he adopted it with regret, and that if the Brazilian Government would enter into the measures he pointed out, he should repeal this measure. He intimated that he was taking a harsh and hostile course. Then he (Mr. M. Gibson) said, let the Government take the responsibility of it; let them order their cruisers to act; and then let them come to the House next session, and they would get an indemnity if they could make out their case. It appeared to him that the executive Government was shrinking from its duty on this occasion, and that they felt it to be doubtful whether they really had the powers which the clause in the treaty of 1826 purported to give them. Although Lord Aberdeen had threatened the Brazilians that he would get an Act of Parliament to enable him to carry into execution the provisions of that treaty, was it clear that the Government had done that in this bill? There was no power in the bill of dealing with Brazilian subjects; the bill only gave a power of dealing with and confiscating ships: therefore the Government seemed to him to shrink from taking the whole of the powers which this clause in the treaty gave them, if, indeed, it did give them any such powers. Then, was it proper to proceed with such haste with a bill in a case where such important interests were involved? There had been one important amendment introduced into this bill, providing that parties who should seize these Brazilian ships should be entitled to bounties and tonnage dues. It would be newly in the recollection of the House that they had voted lately out of the consolidated fund no less than from 30,000*l.* to 35,000*l.* to officers for these seizures. But the fact was, that when the Government seized these slavers on the Brazilian coast, they sent the negroes found in them to our own colonies. What was said? Why this:—"England wants labour in her colonies, and takes this short road of supplying them with negroes." Further, it appeared from these papers, that the mortality amongst these negroes, thus sent to the colonies under the sanction of the British authorities abroad, was as great on the voyage as on the middle passage; and by this means, therefore, this country was made guilty of those very horrors which had been so often denounced by Great Britain. It appeared from a letter in these papers, from Sir H. M'Leod, of Trinidad, written in February, 1844, that a captured vessel that had sailed thither from Rio Janeiro with 300 negroes on board, had arrived with only 288, having lost twelve by death on the passage. From these cases the people of Brazil concluded that the object of the British Government was to supply our West Indian colonies with negro labour. That was what was said of this country; and it was said, too, that our officers in command of our cruisers on the coast of Brazil, were actuated by the desire of bounties and pecuniary advantages to push the search too far. These, of all other things, were just those which were calculated to excite the passions of the people against this country. When England was a slave-trading nation she would have repelled with indignation any such interference on the part of a foreign power. The whole policy was a most questionable policy. It was very doubtful whether our cruisers on the coast of Africa and the coast of Brazil had not increased the evil they were sent out to prevent, and he could only say that if his hon. friend, the member for Gateshead, would move, next session, for a committee of inquiry into that policy, he should support him, for he should like very much to see the matter probed to the bottom. What was our position as to our own manufactures with regard to Brazil? Brazil said she would put a discriminating duty of twenty or thirty per cent. on the manufactures of this country, and would continue to do so until we gave up our policy with respect to her sugar, and admitted it on the same terms as those of the most favoured nations. He called upon the right hon. baronet to state distinctly to the house that it was not his own policy that had brought Lord Aberdeen into the disagreeable necessity, as he now admitted it, of carrying out the clause of the treaty of 1826 in this hostile spirit. That noble lord informed them, some time ago, that he had no doubt that a treaty was then concluded with Brazil, and that British property was safe in that country; but no such news was brought by the last mail—no such treaty appeared to have been concluded. He asked, then, how long the manufacturing interests of this country were to be trifled with in that manner, and the lives and property of British subjects to be jeopardized in order to favour the peculiar views of a small section of the anti-slavery party? He believed that the majority of that party disapproved of the policy of the Government, and in the memorial which they had presented to the Government they had deprecated this armed interference. Under these circumstances he should certainly take the sense of the House against going into committee on this bill.

Sir R. PEEL said, the international engagements between Brazil and this country in respect of the slave-trade now rest on a convention concluded between the two countries in 1826. By the first article of that convention it was provided that it should not, from a time therein named, be lawful for a subject of the empire of Brazil to be concerned in carrying on the African slave-trade under any pretext or in any manner whatever, and that the carrying on of such trade after that period by any person or subject of his Imperial Majesty should be deemed and treated as piracy. There was, therefore, an international engagement between this country and Brazil, that from a certain time the subjects of the Brazilian empire engaged on any pretext or in any manner in carrying on the slave-trade should be guilty of the offence of piracy. The Brazilian subject was not merely by the municipal laws of his own country liable to the penalty for

piracy, but there was a solemn engagement entered into between the Brazilian Government and this country by which the offence was made piracy. Shortly after that convention there was another entered into by Brazil, adopted from one that was existing between Portugal and this country, which had for its object the determining, by mutual arrangement between the two countries, in what mode effect should be given to that object. A mutual right of search was given in the case of Brazilian ships and English ships, and courts of mixed commission were appointed for determining offences at variance with the existing engagements. Either Government had the power in its own discretion to terminate that convention, in the month of March, 1842, a period of fifteen years from the time it was entered into. Brazil thought fit to give notice of her intention to terminate that subsidiary convention, and this Government thought fit to accede to such desire on the part of the Brazilian Government. But there remained in force the original article of the treaty of 1826, and the object of this measure is to give effect to the stipulations of that treaty. A great part of the hon. gentleman's speech appeared to be in favour of the abandonment of all policy on our part for the suppression of the slave-trade. The hon. gentleman says, imputations are thrown out on the faith and integrity of this nation, and that on that account we ought to be particularly careful how we interfere with the rights of other countries. No doubt such imputations are thrown out, and thrown out from interested motives. There is no doubt a desire to depreciate the character and paralyze the exertions of this country in the suppression of the slave-trade; but I think the sacrifices this country has made for the mitigation of the evils of the slave-trade, and for the termination of the *status* of the slave-trade, may enable her safely to defy all such unjust suspicions. (Hear.) The hon. gentleman says there was a time when this country herself carried on the slave-trade, and the bishops in the House of Lords made speeches in its favour. The fact may be so; but does the hon. gentleman think that that constitutes an argument why we should relax in the efforts we have made for the suppression of the slave-trade? The Government proposes this measure with regret. It would have been infinitely more satisfactory to them that Brazil should have consented to enter into a new engagement in substitution of the engagement of 1817, and should have acted in ready concert with us in the suppression of the slave-trade. I have laid on the table the correspondence that has passed on this subject, and I leave it to the house to judge whether any effort on the part of her Majesty's Government for the last ten years has been omitted in order to induce the Brazilian Government of its own good-will to enter into that friendly concert. The house will see what have been the proposals that have been made from time to time: not recently, but during the period my noble friend Lord Aberdeen has been Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and during the period the noble lord opposite held the same office the house will find that repeated exhortations were addressed to the Brazilian Government, for the purpose of inducing them to enter into amicable concert with us, and to enable us to search Brazilian vessels, and to punish those who were engaged in the slave-trade under that act which had been agreed to by the Brazilian Government of its own free will. But those efforts have failed. The Brazilian Government have from time to time distinctly stated to us, that her views on this subject are entirely at variance from ours, and from the Brazilian Government we can expect no assistance or co-operation in the suppression of the slave-trade by her own subjects. Shall we then altogether abandon our efforts? Shall we hold the convention of 1826 to be of no effect? and, notwithstanding that international engagement between Brazil and this country, shall we permit Brazilian subjects and ships to carry on the African slave-trade without any independent effort on our own part to suppress it? First, I say, that Brazil herself has admitted that this country, under the convention of 1826, has a right of its own authority, failing other engagements entered into with Brazil, to suppress the slave-trade carried on by Brazilian subjects. The hon. gentleman will observe in the correspondence that has taken place, in a note presented by the Brazilian Government, that at an early period subsequent to the last convention Brazil expressly considered that under the convention of 1826 this country had a right to interfere for the suppression of the slave-trade. He will find in page 7, of the printed papers, that in a document issued by the Brazilian Government it was stated that that Government had received from the British Minister an assurance that certain Brazilian vessels which had been employed in trafficking in slaves, but which could prove that on or before the 30th day of March, 1830, they were not so employed, should be allowed to proceed and finish their *bonâ fide* voyage without incurring the liability of being treated as pirates, according to the convention of 1826. The hon. gentleman again will find that the Brazilian Secretary of State relied on the article in the convention of 1826 as a proof that the slave-trade was totally forbidden to Brazilian subjects. No law was passed in Brazil at that time making the slave-trade piracy; for the Brazilian Secretary of State said, that the slave-trade was abolished, and that the offence was constituted piracy; and in saying that he was not speaking of the municipal laws passed by Brazil, but of the effect of that convention which had been signed between this country and Brazil. But efforts were made to put an end to the mixed commission. Objections were made to it by the Brazilian Government; but in making those efforts the Minister of Brazil urged that the continuance of the mixed commission was unnecessary, because under the convention with England there was a power on the part of the two governments to suppress the slave-trade by making it an offence cognizable by their own respective legal tribunals. There was then a distinct admission that we had a right to consider the offence as piracy, virtually by the law of Brazil. The hon. gentleman says he will not share in the responsibility of the Government in bringing forward this measure. What is the effect of it? We consider that the Crown is empowered to direct the detention of Brazilian vessels. We have not acted without the fullest deliberation. It was the impression of the noble lord opposite, than whom none has paid more attention to this subject, that on the suspension of the last convention, an act of Parliament would be absolutely necessary to give effect to the convention of 1826, and the noble lord inquired of me whether it was my intention to propose a bill for that purpose. It is true that we did not proceed without mature deliberation. We approached the subject with great caution and reluctance, for we were most anxious that Brazil should take the course which Spain took in 1835, and Portugal

in 1842, and by mutual stipulations should have enabled us to effect this object. But all we do by this act is not to give the Crown the power to issue these orders, for we think that the Crown has the power to direct the detention of Brazilian vessels, in virtue of the convention, and we are prepared to take on ourselves the responsibility of issuing these orders. But at present the Vice-Admiralty Courts of this country are prohibited from taking cognizance of these offences. (Hear, hear.) At present, without the intervention of an act of Parliament, I apprehend that the Vice-Admiralty Courts could not proceed to the adjudication and condemnation of Brazilian vessels, and it is necessary to provide in this case, as you did in the case of Portugal, that the Vice-Admiralty Courts should have that jurisdiction of adjudication and condemnation, with respect to vessels seized on suspicion of carrying on the slave-trade, which they would not have without it. The hon. gentleman tells us to issue the orders on our own responsibility, and trust hereafter to an act of indemnity. It is infinitely better to ask from Parliament the power of adjudication upon vessels that are seized, rather than to issue orders and leave it in doubt whether there be any jurisdiction competent to decide upon these points. The hon. gentleman refers to a speech made, and a protest entered into, by my noble friend, in 1839, with reference to the bill proposed by the noble lord, enabling the British Government to detain Portuguese vessels concerned in the slave-trade. I, for one, seeing there was an indisposition on the part of Portugal to fulfil the obligations of her treaty with this country, with respect to the slave-trade, felt that the noble lord was justified in the measure he proposed. I saw the unavailing attempts he had made to prevail on Portugal to fulfil those stipulations into which she had entered with this country, and that after benefits received from this country, and every diplomatic effort having failed, I thought that the noble lord was fully justified in calling on Parliament for their assistance. Both houses have, from time to time, presented addresses to the Crown for the suppression of the slave-trade, and have assured the Crown of their willing co-operation in case legislative interference was necessary. These addresses were unanimously carried, and therefore, on the part of the Crown, I think, after the convention of 1817, I should be abandoning my duty, if after those addresses, I permitted that state of things to arise which would arise unless you give to the Vice-Admiralty Courts the jurisdiction which this bill proposes. But the noble lord proposed, in the case of Portugal, an act of Parliament expressly giving to the Crown the power of issuing orders, and enabling the Vice-Admiralty Courts to exercise these powers. At a subsequent period, after some difficulties in respect to the first bill, the House of Lords acquiesced in what was proposed by the noble lord; but the case of Brazil is very different from the case of Portugal. In the case of Portugal there was no such treaty as in the case of Brazil. There was an engagement on the part of Portugal that she would co-operate with you generally in the suppression of the slave-trade, that she would pass a law prohibiting the slave-trade, that she would give you a right of search, and she engaged to do various things which she did not do, and entered into various stipulations which she did not perform, and the noble lord asked for the interference of Parliament to compel Portugal to do that which the British Crown had required of her, but which she refused to do. But that was a *casus belli*. The noble lord thought the conduct of Portugal justified the Crown, first in making the most urgent diplomatic remonstrances, and, these failing, then to call on Parliament to compel Portugal to enter into her engagements. If the hon. gentleman refers to the protest of my noble friend, he will see that it proceeded upon these grounds: because the constitution of this country and the usual practice had been to leave it to the sovereign, acting on the advice of her ministers, to come to a decision upon all questions of peace and war; and to carry into execution such measures, and to order such operations, as her ministers proposed. My noble friend contended that in the case of Portugal it was a *casus belli*—that the Crown ought to have proceeded upon its own imperial authority, and declared war against Portugal to compel her to perform her engagements. But this is not a *casus belli*, it is a *casus fœderis*. There are stipulations by Brazil with this country expressly declaring that carrying on the slave-trade by Brazilian subjects should be piracy; we therefore do not ask Parliament to enable us to declare war against Brazil. We are content under the convention, after taking the advice of the highest authorities in this country, including my lamented friend Sir William Follett, whose name I shall never mention without a feeling of respect for the memory of that distinguished man (hear, hear.) After the best consideration, and after communication with the Queen's Advocate, he and the other highest authorities in this country, gave us deliberately their opinion, that, under that convention, failing the agreement and consent of Brazil to other measures for the suppression of the slave-trade, we were entirely authorised in continuing to exercise the right of search over Brazilian vessels. The right now reverts to the Crown of acting under the convention of 1826; and, supported by the advice to which I have referred, we feel it to be our duty to abide by it, in so far as to give to the Admiralty courts the power of exercising the rights conferred by that convention. I think the hon. gentleman cannot complain that I have thrown any difficulty in the way of the production of all the papers which, consistently with my sense of public duty, I could lay before the House. He will see that, in the last communication we made to the Brazilian Government, there is an expression of deep regret that considerations of public duty compel us to propose this measure, and an assurance that we shall have the utmost satisfaction in proposing to Parliament its repeal, if—influenced by the act of the noble lord in 1829—Brazil shall enter into a treaty with us, not for the suppression of slavery, not for interference with any institutions in Brazil, but for the purpose of giving effect to the original engagement of 1826. We have waited to the last; for a series of years we have implored Brazil to substitute something efficacious in lieu of this temporary measure; at length we feel driven to the necessity of interfering ourselves, to enforce the exercise of our right. But, at the same time, while we intend to exercise that right for ourselves, we accompany the intimation of our intention with an earnest exhortation to Brazil to relieve us from this necessity by entering into amicable engagements with us on the subject. The hon. member for Manchester says that this measure is imperfect, because some alterations were proposed by me in committee into which the House went *pro formâ* the other night. But what was the alteration that was then made? It was simply this:—as the

mixed commission, with the consent of the two parties, are to continue their operations for six months, in order to preclude any doubt as to the validity of their decisions a clause was inserted giving to the decisions of that commission all the force which their decrees had under the former convention. As the period for which that commission is to sit is continued beyond the term specified in the original convention, the object of that clause was merely to solve a doubt which might have arisen as to the validity of their subsequent decrees. I also introduced into this bill the usual clauses—similar to those contained in the Portuguese act, and in every other measure of the same nature—enabling the Lords of the Treasury to award to vessels which succeed in capturing slave-ships a proportion of prize-money. These clauses, being regarded as money clauses, were omitted in the other House of Parliament; and it became my duty to propose their insertion in the committee in this House. I think, therefore, that the hon. gentleman's charge, that this bill has been got up with such haste as to render considerable alteration necessary, is, so far as it regards the alterations to which I have referred, altogether unfounded. I am not aware that there is any other point to which it is necessary for me to refer. The correspondence I have already laid on the table will probably afford sufficient explanation of the circumstances under which the bill was prepared. I again repeat, that it is with reluctance I propose this bill; and I trust that the necessity of continuing it will be removed by the voluntary act of Brazil, in entering into a treaty with us similar to the treaties we have concluded with Spain and Portugal. I can assure the hon. gentleman I shall have much greater pleasure in recommending the repeal of this bill than I now have in proposing it to the House. The negotiation with Brazil—not for a tariff, but for a commercial treaty, is still making progress; and if I felt that any good object could be promoted, or the success of the pending negotiation advanced, by the further production of papers and instructions, I would readily consent to lay them before the House. The instructions I have already produced will, I think, afford proof that I have been desirous to lay upon the table such information, bearing, in my opinion, immediately upon the subject, as I could do consistently with my public duty; but I regret that I cannot consent to produce the instructions issued to Mr. Ellis, alluded to by the hon. gentleman opposite.

Mr. HURR said, he believed that if this bill were passed its effect would be, in the course of two years, to destroy all commercial intercourse between this country and Brazil. Although this measure might, to some extent, prevent the Brazilian flag from affording protection to the slave-trade, he believed hon. gentlemen were mistaken if they supposed it would have the effect of preventing that trade from being carried on to the same extent as at present. His conviction was, that this measure would not diminish the slave-trade; and in a fruitless attempt to effect that object, the Government were sacrificing some of the best interests of this country, and bringing us to the very verge of war, or at least placing us in circumstances which it would be the highest wisdom to avoid. He therefore felt it his duty to oppose this bill.

Lord PALMERSTON said,—I certainly do not concur in the view of this question which has been taken by the hon. gentleman near me, but I am quite prepared to give my support to the bill now before the house. Indeed, I cannot pursue any other course, having, as the right hon. baronet has reminded me, been the first to suggest the proceedings which have rendered this measure necessary. A treaty was concluded between this country and Brazil in 1826, and the question for the house to consider is, whether that treaty is to be allowed to remain a dead letter—to remain unfulfilled,—or whether this house is prepared to take such measures as will enable the Crown to carry that treaty into execution. Now, I think, that after Parliament has addressed the Executive repeatedly since the year 1814, urging the Crown to conclude treaties with foreign powers, and pointing out the object of those treaties to be the suppression of the slave-trade—in some cases actually suggesting the means by which those treaties were to accomplish their purpose, it would be utterly disgraceful to the country if treaties so made were allowed to be defeated by the bad faith of the Governments with which they were concluded. I am sorry to say it is impossible to state in exaggerated terms the just accusations which may be brought against the Government of Brazil, as having been guilty of bad faith with regard to the engagements entered into with reference to the slave-trade. It is true that the Government of which I was a member did, for the whole ten years during which we were in office, year after year, by every possible argument, urge the Government of the Brazils to fulfil the engagements by which they were bound; but all our inducements, our arguments, and our persuasions, were utterly fruitless; and whenever the subject of the slave-trade has been discussed in this house, the bad faith of the Brazilian Government in this respect has been admitted on all hands. The question, therefore, is, are they to be permitted to carry on their slave-trade with perfect impunity, or are you to take the only means for preventing it which the treaty with Brazil places within your power? I am quite prepared to share any responsibility which attaches to a member of Parliament who gives his support to this measure; but at the same time I must admit that there is some force in the observation of my hon. friend, that possibly, if Her Majesty's Government had taken a more reasonable and judicious course than they thought it right to pursue towards the Government of Brazil on the question of the sugar duties, they would not have been placed in the situation in which they now find themselves, for undoubtedly the course they adopted was calculated to produce a great deal of unnecessary irritation in Brazil. I do not at all admit the argument of my hon. friend the member for Manchester (Mr. M. Gibson), that we cannot expect the Brazilians to submit to the measures now proposed, because England would not submit if any foreign power were to assume, for purposes of professed humanity, to exercise on our coasts that system of inspection and police which we exercise on the coast of Brazil. But if we were bound by treaty to do so, I hope and trust that we should submit to it. (Hear, hear.) I am convinced we should; for I have that high opinion of the honour of this country, that I am quite certain we should submit to any inconvenience, however galling it might be to our national pride, if we were bound by stipulations of treaties to do so. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, in asking the Brazilians to fulfil their engagements, we are only asking them to do what, under similar circumstances, at the requirement of any foreign country, we should ourselves be prepared to do. I must at the same time own I entertain some apprehen-

sion that the anticipations of the hon. member for Gateshead (Mr. Hutt), as to the effect of this treaty, may be fulfilled. I am very much afraid we shall find the effect of this treaty will be, not to put an end to the slave-trade of Brazil, but to drive that slave-trade to take shelter under some other flag. It is quite clear, now that our mutual right of search with France is given up, and whereas a right of search does not exist with America, that the Brazilian slave-trade will be carried on under the flags of France and of the United States. (Hear.) Nevertheless, I still think a point is gained by preventing this trade from being carried on under the flag of Brazil, for that undoubtedly will be the effect of this measure. His lordship then adverted to the treaty between France and the Imaum of Muscat, and proceeded as follows:—We are at present in treaty with the Imaum of Muscat. I think this opportunity should be taken to urge upon him the expediency, the justice, and the humanity, of coming to some arrangement by which the horrors committed under his authority might be mitigated. It will readily be remembered by the house that not very long since I read to them an extract from a work of the late Sir Fowell Buxton, in which he depicted in glowing, but not exaggerated terms, the fearful cruelties which were inflicted upon the unhappy negroes who were conveyed in vessels belonging to the subjects of the Imaum of Muscat. I am sure, that if the British Government make strong representations on this point, they cannot fail to be attended with good results; and I do also trust that the Government of this country will not permit the conduct of the Governors of Cuba and of Surinam to pass altogether without notice or remonstrance. I hope they will not allow our consuls and our commissioners to be sent to Coventry by those Governors.

Sir R. PEEL said, that the conduct of those governors had been made the subject of remonstrance.

Lord PALMERSTON.—But have the governors of Cuba and Surinam consented to receive the communications of our slave-trade commissioners?

Sir R. PEEL.—The strongest representations have been made to the Spanish Government on the subject. Her Majesty's representative at the Court of Spain has insisted upon these statements being received with attention.

Lord PALMERSTON.—What has been done with respect to Surinam?

Sir R. PEEL was understood to intimate that the cases of Cuba and Surinam were dissimilar.

Lord PALMERSTON.—It is probable that the matter may have escaped the attention of Her Majesty's Government. I know as well as any one the calls which are made upon their time and thoughts; but I am sure, if they would only make a strong remonstrance to the Dutch Government, it would be attended with ultimate success. The question stands thus:—The negroes now in Surinam were carried thither contrary to the law of England. The law of this country forbade their conveyance, and by that law they became forfeited to the Crown; the result of that was their entire freedom. No foreign power had a right to retain them in a state of slavery. Though it might be said that they were purchased, yet the purchase was illegal, because every one must hold that British subjects—as they undoubtedly were—cannot lawfully be retained in a state of slavery. I do hope, therefore, that the subject will engage the attention of the law officers of the Crown, and that the Spanish and Dutch Governments will not claim a right to retain negroes in a state of slavery whom circumstances have thus placed temporarily within the reach of their power. Then as to the Emancipados, there is no difficulty in giving them their freedom by treaty. During the government of Valdez a certain number of them were set free; there were, however, not less than 2,000 or 3,000. It was suggested that there might be some hazard in setting so many at liberty by a single act, and this was not objected to so long as the number who received certificates of freedom went on annually increasing; but from the time that General O'Donnell succeeded to the government of Cuba the progress of emancipation was completely suspended. I do hope, then, that Her Majesty's Government, by means of a treaty, will endeavour to put an end to this suspension of the enfranchisement of these slaves. On that point the late Administration addressed many communications to the Spanish Government, and used their best exertions to accomplish the object by treaty, and I hope that the present Government will energetically follow up the same important object. Even if the treaties now in existence were acted on they would go a great way towards effecting the suppression of the slave trade; and I trust that the papers which will be laid on the table of this house next year will justify, more than those of last year did, our saying that they contained satisfactory proof of activity and energy on the part of the Government in putting an end to slavery.

Mr. M. GIBSON rose to explain that what he said was, that the Brazilian Government might have spoken of the slave trade as being piratical, but that they never enacted a law making it piracy. England, then, could not make a law to bind the Brazilians.

The bill then went through committee, and was subsequently read a third time and passed.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—PROGRESS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.—(Extract of a letter from H. B. Stanton to Joseph Sturge, dated Boston, July 31, 1845.)—"The good cause is making steady advances in our country. To-morrow the anniversary of West India emancipation will be celebrated quite extensively by our Anti-Slavery friends in various parts of the Union. In the forenoon I address an assemblage at Milton, near Boston, and in the afternoon and evening I am to be at Lowell, for the same purpose. You have seen an account of the Grand Liberty Convention, held at Cincinnati, Ohio, in June. It was a noble gathering,—the largest, perhaps, our cause has ever witnessed. We are taking measures to rival our western brethren, by a great convention in Boston, about the 1st of October, to be comprised of delegations from the six New England States, and from New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The official invitations will be issued in a few days. Our friends are full of spirit and determination. Though the Texas annexation iniquity will doubtless be

consummated, it will not paralyze our labours, nor damp our ardour, nor cloud our hopes. The abolitionists of this country did not band together merely to oppose the annexation of Texas, nor to resist the enlargement of our slave territory, but to overthrow slavery itself. Their principles, their measures, their purposes remain the same, whether Texas be within or without the boundaries of the American Union. It would greatly cheer us to meet any of our British friends at our Boston convention, about the 1st of October. Large meetings on behalf of the slave have recently been held in the states of New York, Vermont, and Maine. The spirit manifested was fully equal to any previous demonstration."

RUNAWAY SLAVES.—A battle took place on Monday near Hagerstown, Maryland, between twelve runaway slaves and ten of their pursuers. Two of the negroes, and two of the whites, were dreadfully wounded, and most of the negroes escaped.—*Correspondent of the Morning Chronicle.*

ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.—(Extract of a letter from L. Tappan to Joseph Sturge, dated July 30th, 1845.)—"A Congress has been held in Texas, i.e., their legislature, and voted almost unanimously for annexation. A convention was held on July 4th, and this body agreed to it with only one negative vote. The convention was proceeding to form a constitution. This will be submitted to our next Congress, December next. If agreeable then, Texas will be admitted as a sovereign state of this confederacy—no doubt; and senators from Texas will be at Washington in December, to take their seats as soon as the forms are gone through with. There is, therefore, little or no doubt that Texas will ere long be merged in this Union. What effect this will have on Mexico, or this country, remains to be seen. The democracy of this country have seen fit to accomplish this nefarious measure, as it would seem, in defiance of both God and man. Methinks I hear a voice from heaven saying, 'Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?' But we do not despair. The Anti-Slavery cause is onward. New papers are starting up, new advocates are appearing, new evidences are occurring that slavery is doomed,—that universal freedom will yet be proclaimed throughout the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

GERMANY.—Extract from the protocol of the twenty-first sitting of the Germanic Diet, June 19, 1845.—"Fully appreciating the sentiments and principles of Christian charity which have induced the Courts of Great Britain and Austria, of Prussia and Russia, to conclude the convention for the suppression of the slave-trade, dated the 20th of December, 1841, and animated with a desire to contribute, as far as in their power, towards the entire abolition of this criminal traffic, all the Germanic powers agree to prohibit the trade in slaves. In consequence whereof, in all the states in which there are no laws for the punishment of this traffic, it shall be punished as piracy; and in the states whose laws make no special mention of piracy, it shall be punished in the same manner as rape, or in a manner not less severe."—*Journal de Francfort.*

Miscellaneous.

CAPTURE OF SLAVERS.—On the 26th of April the *Mutine* being desirous of overhauling a suspicious-looking, very large, and fast-sailing vessel, that soon proved her slave-dealing character by bearing away, was in full chase of her when the *Mutine* grounded on the bar of Quilimaine, the tide then ebbing; upon seeing which, the crew of the slaver gave three cheers, and endeavoured to increase her distance from the brig as much as possible. The *Mutine's* crew set to work to get the vessel from her dangerous position, and, after nearly two hours' exertions, the brig was fairly forced over the bar. The chase was then resumed, and the brig now displayed her sailing qualities, and made up for lost time. Gaining on the chase every minute, she was alongside the notorious Brazilian slaver, the *Princeza Imperial*, in the course of seven hours. She endeavoured to detach the brig from pursuing her by hoisting the stripes and stars of the United States, and assuming the appearance of an American whaler: she was well calculated to deceive one not thoroughly convinced of her character. The prize was upwards of 400 tons burden. She had made three successful consecutive trips to Santos, in the Brazils, and had carried altogether 2,400 slaves. When captured, she was quite ready for the reception of 800 or 900 slaves. The *Princeza* was given in charge of Lieut. the Hon. T. A. Pakenham, under whose command she sailed to Sierra Leone for adjudication. She had previously been chased by several other cruisers, and had escaped capture by her superior sailing. Since capturing the *Princeza*, the boats of the *Mutine*, under the orders of Lieuts. Mends and the Hon. F. Curzon, on the 6th, off Madagascar, after a very spirited and well-managed chase, captured an Arab slaver, with 231 slaves on board. The Arabs, though desperate men, and well armed, jumped overboard at the moment their vessel was boarded. The Arab vessel was not in a fit state to undertake a voyage to the Cape of Good Hope at this tempestuous season, and was therefore destroyed. The *Mutine* sailed with her cargo, mustering nearly 200, including crew and supernumeraries.—*Hampshire Telegraph.*

SIAM SUGAR.—The *Gazette* contains an Order of Council, agreeably to the Act of 1844, declaring that the sugars of Siam are not the produce of slave-labour, and admitting them into the market subsequent to July 1st, 1845, at the reduced duties. The order is dated August 8th.

THE MISSOURI.—By private letter which has reached us from Gibraltar, we are informed, upon good authority, that 20,000 slave-shackles for men, women, and children, in all fourteen cart-loads, have been fished up from the wreck of the American war-steamer *Missouri*, lately burnt at that port.—*Hampshire Telegraph.*

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